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ABSTRACT

The recent success of the United States antismoking movement has produced a marked decline in the U.S. smoking population. A study employed Jurgen Habermas' communicative competency theory to examine United States smoking controversy discourse and identify the most successful appeals of the antismoking movement. Analysis revealed that primary terms used in the discourse were misconceived in a sixteenth century pre-scientific conceptual field and, as external references, work to inconspicuously limit the discursive formation. (The word "smoking," for example, traces back to the 1500s and refers to a visual phenomenon taking place outside the body). Scientific progress of knowledge relocates the problem inside the body where addictive poisons disease the lungs. A process of post-scientific re-identification establishes these correct internal event descriptors. If these successful appeals can be intensified and employed in an educational context, an end to the Third World smoking epidemic may be hastened. (Six appendixes including a proposal about smoking in public from the R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Company, excerpts from speeches, and an external event continuum are attached. A 45-item bibliography is also attached.) (Author/TD)

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# Arsenic and Old Language:
# A Habermasian Antidote For The Lethal Tobacco Ideology

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Arsenic and Old Language:

Habermasian Antidote For The Lethal Tobacco Ideology


ABSTRACT

The World Health Organization identifies smoking as the cause of two and one-half million annual deaths worldwide and a spreading epidemic in developing countries. The U.S. antismoking movement's recent rhetorical successes have produced a marked decline in the U.S. smoking population. This study employs Jurgen Habermas' communicative competency theory to examine the U.S. smoking controversy discourse to identify its most successful appeals. If these successful appeals can be intensified and educationally employed, an end to the Third World smoking epidemic may be hastened. Analysis reveals that primary terms used in the discourse were misconceived in a 16th century pre-scientific conceptual field and, as external references, work to inconspicuously limit the discursive formation. Scientific progress of knowledge relocates the problem inside the body where addictive poisons disease the lungs. A process of post-scientific re-identification establishes these correct internal event descriptors. Employment of these scientifically correct descriptors: addictive, poisonous, disease, constitutes a litmus test for denial and are recommended as a moral and ethical educational standard.

Arsenic and Old Language:

A Habermasian Antidote For The Lethal Tobacco Ideology

"Tobacco kills approximately two and a half million people each year throughout the world." With this quite startling statement, Dr. Judith Mackay, a member of the World Health Organization Expert Advisory Panel on Tobacco or Health, begins her article, "The Tobacco Epidemic Spreads," in the October, 1988 issue (9) of World Health. Mackay goes on to say, "It is the largest single, preventable cause of death in the world today"...

In his September 19, 1989 statement before a U.S. House of Representatives Committee on U.S. trade, U.S. Surgeon General Koop testifying on the question of the global consequences of smoking, claims that: "Of most concern is the increase in cigarette smoking in developing countries, where an epidemic of smoking-related diseases will occur unless this increase in tobacco use is reversed."

While there is mounting evidence that the smoking population in the United States is declining there is, conversely, a growing consensus in the world health community that smoking is increasing at an alarming rate in developing countries. Koop (17) commented on the reduction of the U.S. smoking population when, in his March 18, 1987 address to the School of Medicine Public Forum at the University of South Florida, he announced that the battle against smoking in the United States is now being won on a broad front. Koop, who has been acknowledged as the antismoking movement's most effective crusader ("Where There's Smoke" 23), claims that "The American Cigarette Industry, for all its

enormous economic power, will virtually disappear over the next 20 years."

In her October, 1988 article, Mackay (9) seeks to dispel any illusion that tobacco use is declining worldwide: "The major concern about tobacco use in the world today is the increase in developing countries. While tobacco markets are decreasing in the west at the rate of one per cent per annum, smoking is increasing in developing countries at an average of two per cent per annum." She adds, "In other words, for every smoker who quits in the United States or Europe, two people start smoking in a developing country."

Given the apparent recent successes of the antismoking movement in the U.S. and the urgent call for effective strategies to combat on a global scale the worldwide "tobacco epidemic," it seems a logical next step to identify the persuasive appeals in the U.S. which appear to be having a significant impact. If the most persuasive messages of the U.S. antismoking movement can be identified, intensified and thus be made even more effective, then perhaps these same persuasive strategies can be more widely and successfully employed both nationally and internationally. It is the purpose of this paper to examine the discourse surrounding the "smoking and health" controversy in the United States with the intention of identifying rhetorically successful elements.

To examine the discourse, I will employ Jurgen Habermas' theory of communicative competence (Burleson and Kline). First, I will explicate those concepts which are central to this

critical perspective. Then, I will apply these concepts to a selection of historically significant messages, both pro and con, which exemplify the controversy, itself. The messages examined will be specific statements by U.S. Surgeon General Koop and the R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company. I will conclude the paper with an evaluation of the moral, ethical and legal implications in the discursive practices concerned with smoking and health and draw conclusions as to those rhetorical elements which appear to comprise the most successful appeals of the antismoking movement's efforts in the United States.

## Habermas' Theory of Communicative Competency

W. Arthur Frank writes of Jurgen Habermas (15): "What rings clear and present is Habermas' reorientation of social theory to the pragmatics of discourse, and of discourse to the ethical issue of how we can come to terms with each other in some form of mutual understanding. In these reorientations he has, I contend, written a masterpiece for and of our time."

Peter Wilby, in his essay, "Habermas and the Language of the Modern State" (New Society 667), calls Habermas "one of the intellectual giants of the century." In their book, Contemporary Perspectives on Rhetoric, authors Foss, Foss and Trapp write (213): "Jurgen Habermas is the dominant figure on the intellectual scene in Germany today, as he has been for the past decade."

Foss, Foss and Trapp offer this summary of Habermas' work (216-217): "The overall purpose of Habermas' work is to develop

a theory of society that aims at the self-emancipation of people from domination, and a theory of communication lies at its core." Two other communication scholars, Burleson and Kline, have offered their view that within Habermas' theory of communication lies a elemental theory, Habermas' theory of communicative competence, which, when taken separately from the overall theoretical framework, has by itself significant impact for the field of communication studies. In their essay, "Habermas' Theory of Communication: A Critical Explication" (QJS 412-28), they offer the following insight on the purpose of critical theories (413): "Critical theories ultimately aim to aid the members of a society to become more liberated, responsible, and enlightened agents by exposing and overcoming the forms of individual, social and political domination that unduly constrain autonomy of thought and freedom of action."

Burleson and Kline provide a critical exposition of Habermas' theory of communicative competence. They suggest (413) that while Habermas' theory of communicative competence is initially viewed as an "integral element" of a more general framework, it "is analytically separable from the larger framework and therefore should be analyzed and evaluated independently." Furthermore, they believe that Habermas' theory of communicative competence represents a "significant achievement," and in their concluding remarks, they offer this observation (427): "Through the integration of previously unconnected literature, the theory establishes a comprehensive framework for the study of communicative processes and

phenomena. Indeed, the scope of Habermas' theory is such that it has important implications for traditional areas of speech communication scholarship as disparate as rhetorical and communication theory, rhetorical criticism, and argumentation theory."

Habermas (415), in order to systematically analyze certain properties, "dialogue-constitutive universals," employs and extends Austin's and Searle's concepts of the speech act. Like Searle, Habermas "designates the speech act as the elementary unit of speech; that is 'the smallest (verbal) utterance which is comprehensible and acceptable to at least one other competent actor within a communication context.'" I will here refer the reader to the Burleson and Kline essay for a more complete explication of Habermas' concept of universal pragmatics and his work establishing a grammar of speech acts.

To briefly summarize, Habermas contends there are four types of speech acts, and each speech act makes a separate, distinctive validity claim. Burleson and Kline (417) explain that: "Taken separately, these validity claims express four distinct assumptions underlying the flow of normal communication." The authors develop these individual assumptions as follows: (1) intelligibility, a claim that an utterance is mutually understandable, (2) truth, a claim that the propositional content of the speech act is transparent in its assertion and is agreed upon by the listener, (3) truthfulness, (or sincerity), a claim that the speaker seriously and exactly intends what is expressed , and (4) appropriateness, a claim that the speaker is acting in accord with socially shared norms and rules. While intelligibility and

truthfulness validity claims can be "redeemed" by the participants, themselves, (by activating prescribed forms of negotiation, interaction and comparisen), problematic truth claims or claims regarding the appropriateness of particular norms may require raising the communication to the level Habermas terms "discourse" (418): "Discourse is a mode of communication in which the truth or appropriateness of an utterance is examined critically by interactants and either accepted or rejected through arguments."

Central to Habermas' theory of communicative competence is the assumption that problematic truth claims and claims to normative appropriateness can be redeemed in discourse (418). This assumption presumes the "mutual supposition of rational accountability" which Habermas acknowledges is all too often unrealized empirically. Burleson and Kline explain it this way (419): "Habermas attempts to dissolve the complications created through the supposition of mutual accountability by introducing the concept of systematically distorted communication or theory of deviant communicative competence." Habermas believes that systematically distorted communication manifests itself at two levels, the individual and the cultural. "When individuals communicate with themselves in a systematically distorted manner; that is, when they unconsciously deceive themselves about themselves, then they suffer from a neurotic disturbance."

Habermas claims such neurotic disturbances are the individual prototypes for all ideologies (419). "Thus, when systematically distorted communication is manifest at the social

or cultural level, an ideology emerges." It is at this point that Habermas effectively moves to employ and extend Freud's concept (419). "At both the individual and social levels systematically distorted communication is generated by the same mechanisms: structural repressions and resistances which remove key semantic contents (meanings, assumptions, validity claims, etc.) from the realm of public communication and critical examination, and at the same time explain or justify these semantic contents as real, true, correct, and necessary."

To Habermas then, ideologies not only work on a social level by masking from the population specific information necessary for "self-emancipation from domination," ideologies also characteristically employ a self-cloaking device which effectively blinds the population to the ideologies' very existence, thereby avoiding exposure and scrutiny. This phenomenon is described as follows (419): "In Habermas' view ideologies are belief systems whose foundational assumptions are at once concealed and protected from rational assessment; i.e., from discourse. Ideologies are characterized also by communication structures that prevent discursive inquiry about their foundational semantic contents. These contents and their nature as social constructions are repressed, and ideological communication structures resist their uncovering." Habermas believes that an ideology provides self-legitimizing mechanisms that secure it as rationally based. "Ideologies both generate and perpetuate inconspicuous power and domination structures that defend the 'rationality' of claims which could not be redeemed in otherwise

unfettered discourse. Thus, the power of ideologies derives from the erection of institutional communication structures which prevent claims from being discursively examined."

Habermas further develops his construct of communicative competence, by addressing the need to incorporate in discourse the means by which ideologies and their inconspicuous dominating influence can be brought to conscious reflexion. To achieve this aim, Habermas offers a consensus theory of truth which he claims will forestall "the danger of falling into an infinite regress" when attempting to determine the criteria for a rational consensus (421). A "warranted consensus" is reachable through his concept of the "force of the better argument," which is achievable through application of the "formal properties of discourse." Habermas believes that the only motive legitimate in discourse is "that of a cooperative readiness to arrive at an understanding."

To facilitate arrival at understanding, Habermas incorporates the work of Stephen Toulmin. On this point the authors (421) explain that for Habermas a "rationally motivated consensus" is reachable only when all parties are free to "examine critically the conceptual fields within which the data and warrants of substantial arguments lie (421)." To achieve this necessitates the freedom to move from a given level of discourse to increasingly reflected levels."

Thus, it is Habermas' contention that a consensus is achievable through the force of the better argument, which is produced when communicators are able to "move back and forth

between the different levels as often as necessary until the consensus emerges (422)." Further, because this consensus is possible only when freedom of movement between levels of discourse is guaranteed, Habermas defines the "formal properties of discourse." These properties constitute the characteristics which define his concept of an "ideal speech situation."

For a more detailed and faithful representation of Habermas' concept, I once again hasten to refer the reader to the admirable Burleson and Kline article. In keeping with the constraints of this paper I here offer an abbreviated overview of the essential elements of Habermas' ideal speech situation and the four levels of abstraction on which, Habermas contends, communication ideally proceeds.

## THE IDEAL SPEECH SITUATION

The ideal speech situation excludes systematic distortion of communication. Four general symmetry requirements guarantee unlimited discussion:

1. All participants must have equal opportunity to initiate and perpetuate discourse, that is, employ communicative speech acts.

2. All participants must have an equal opportunity to put forth assertions, challenges, explanations, interpretations--in short, to draw upon and utilize constative speech acts. (Insures that the discussion is free from distorting influences stemming from domination, strategic behavior, or self-deception.)

3. This requirement insures the <u>freedom</u> of speakers, and holds that all speakers must have an equal chance of "making their inner nature transparent" through the expression of intentions, attitudes, feelings, and other representative speech acts.

4. Participants must be equal with respect to power; i.e., the selection and implementation of regulative speech acts, those through which actors command, forbid, permit, etc.

## FOUR LEVELS OF ABSTRACTION

In the ideal speech situation, communication proceeds on four levels of abstraction:

1. Validity claims are made the object of critical inquiry.
2. "Warrant-using" arguments are advanced to defend the contested validity claim.
3. Appropriateness of conceptual/linguistic frame of argument is called into question: goals of field, basic methods of inquiry, competing paradigms are examined.
4. Arguers are free to examine systematic alterations in the initially chosen conceptual and linguistic system.

   The progress of knowledge is scrutinized by reflection of both what should count as knowledge and what role knowledge should play in forming theoretical and practical interests.

Burleson and Kline offer this summary of these requirements for an ideal speech situation: "They insure not only unlimited discussion, but discussion free from the external constraints of systematic distortion or ideology. Further, such conditions guarantee freedom of movement within the levels of communication."

Habermas readily acknowledges that his concept of the ideal speech situation is rarely, if ever, empirically attained. Habermas (423) believes the ideal speech situation is "neither an empirical phenomenon nor a mere construct, but rather something we must unavoidably reciprocally impute in discourses." He prefers to think of the ideal speech situation as an prefiguration which anticipates the claim of a rational consensus, and serves at the same time as a "critical standard against which every actually achieved consensus can be brought into question

and subsequently examined as to whether it is a sufficient indicator for a warranted consensus."

Habermas claims that speakers anticipate the ideal speech situation because it is built into the very structure of intersubjective communication (424). "Within every act of communication are the suppositions that actors are free to select and employ a communicative act (autonomy) and that actors are able to account for their validity claims in a rational way (responsibility)." The authors explain: "Because the ideal speech situation rests on the interrelated values of truth, freedom, and justice, and because the ideal speech situation is implied in every act of intersubjective communication, the theory of communicative competence uncovers a set of a priori normative standards. A substantive normative structure is prefigured by the nature of communicative action itself. Every act of communication--and thus the possibility of social life--necessarily presupposes the responsibility and autonomy of human actors."

Burleson and Kline interpret Habermas as claiming that not only are responsibility and autonomy presupposed in every act of communication, but "in the very possibility of human community." They suggest here that the human interest in, and striving for, freedom from domination comprise a "universal constitutive feature" of human existence (424). Thus, says Habermas, reason "obeys an <u>emancipatory</u> <u>cognitive</u> <u>interest</u>, which aims at the pursuit of reflection."

At this point I leave my limited effort to unpack Burleson's and Kline's good work and turn to an application of this intriguing perspective Habermas has offered us.

## Ideal Speech Situation as Critical Tool in Discourse Analysis

I will first offer a brief description of the two statements on which my analysis will primarily focus. The statement which I have chosen as an example of pro tobacco interest discourse is the text of an R. J. Reynolds' ad (1985) which in essence prescribes Reynolds' version of an ideal situation illustrating how "greater courtesy" in the pursuit of "social discourse" may eventually lead to "a sudden outbreak of civil decency or even escalate into full-scale friendliness." (See Appendix A.)

The second statement represents the discursive efforts of the antismoking movement's chief crusader (Nason 1981) U.S. Surgeon General Koop and is excerpted from his address to the Joint Annual Conference of the Iowa Public Health Association and the Iowa Environmental Health Association on April 30, 1986, in Des Moines, Iowa. The Koop text is of added interest because he comments directly on the discursive efforts of tobacco interests to continue promoting the misconception of a valid controversy where Koop claims none exists. (See Appendix B.)

Habermas' four general symmetry requirements work to guarantee unlimited discussion and address the contextual structure of the ideal speech situation. Habermas contends that these

requirements are necessary to prevent systematic distortion of communication. Only a cursory examination of the social context in which discourse surrounding the smoking controversy takes place is necessary to determine the absence of all four of Habermas' parameters. The primary obstructive agent is the overwhelming disparity in monetary resources. Rebecca Arbogast, in her article, "A Proposal to Regulate the Manner of Tobacco Advertising" (Journal of Health Politics, Policy, and Law, Fall 1986) acknowledges this dilemma, observing that (414), "public education campaigns cannot compete with the tobacco industry because of lopsided access to financial resources: the money spent daily by tobacco advertisers is equal to the annual budget of the governmental agency against smoking." In an April 27, 1987 address, Koop claims (16), "We need to invest much more time and effort getting the no-smoking message across to the young people of America." He observes (17) that the tobacco industry is "literally pouring money" at the rate of more than $2 Billion annually in an effort mostly "directed at young people" in order "to find new smokers to take the place of those who quit and those 340,000 customers who prematurely die every year." (The American Public Health Association believes the number of tobacco-related annual deaths is closer to 500,000.)

While it is true that Koop and numerous others representing health interests are theoretically free to employ the essential aspects of Habermas' four general symmetry requirements, the lack of funding necessary to get their message across is dramatically

evidenced by the more than 5,000 children who every day fall victim to the tobacco industries' more persuasive appeals (Tobacco and Youth Reporter 3).

## Applying Four Levels of Abstraction

Habermas claims that in the ideal speech situation, communication proceeds on four levels of abstraction. When communicators are able to "move back and forth between the different levels as often as necessary" the force of the better argument will emerge and a consensus will be achieved (422).

My application here will be to scrutinize the arbitrarily selected statements from the perspective provided by each of the four levels of abstraction.

In the first two levels of abstraction the communicators are free to (1) make validity claims the "object of critical inquiry," and (2) advance "warrant-using" assignments to defend the contested validity. A review of the social discourse surrounding this controversy for the past twenty-five years reveals that the confrontation has been conducted at these first two levels (Peter Taylor's The Smoke Ring, New American Library 1984, with an introduction by Koop, is an excellent comprehensive study of the controversy). The argument is chiefly comprised of the immensely wealthy tobacco industry on one side claiming a lack of conclusive evidence linking smoking with disease and the woefully underfunded health and scientific communities on the other side counterclaiming that more than 50,000 studies in over

eighty countries overwhelmingly establish tobacco as the direct cause of widespread disease and death.

It is at the third and fourth levels of abstraction that Habermas' analytical perspective produces a significant insight and perhaps eventually even produces the promise of the social emancipation he forecasts in his theory. At the third level of abstraction the participants are free to examine the appropriateness of the "conceptual/linguistic frame of argument." In the simplest application of this perspective I can address the smoking controversy by focusing on the appropriateness of the term smoking, itself, and here investigate the conceptual field which produced this reference. Is the term, smoke, appropriately conceived, or is it a misconception?

The word "smoking" traces back to the 1500s (World Health 4). I know its conceptual field is the 16th Century, so now I can examine the historical significance of this term's evolution by constructing a continuum (see Appendix C) extending from circa 1560 to the present, 1989. I can plot out the historical life of the controversy on the continuum, and arbitrarily subdivide the evolutionary trace into three distinct periods: (1) Pre-scientific - corresponds to that period of time previous to any concerted, global scientific effort to study the health consequences of smoking; (2) Scientific - corresponds to the time period during which a concerted, global scientific investigation of the health consequences of smoking was conducted, and (3) Post-scientific - corresponds to that timeframe extending after the point when a consensus in the scientific community

establishes sufficient evidence to reach a conclusion. This could be as early as the 1964 Report of the U.S. Surgeon General Terry (Time, March 8, 1982) which concluded that cigarette smoking was the primary cause of lung cancer in men and probably in women. I can use this continuum to locate the conceptual fields which produced the significant terms used in the discourse and also determine whether or not these terms are appropriately conceived given the progress of knowledge.

Habernas' fourth level of abstraction specifies examination of systematic alterations in the initially chosen conceptual linguistic system. This abstraction accounts for the progress of knowledge and scrutinizes this progress by reflection of both what should count as knowledge and what role knowledge should play in forming theoretical and practical interests. From this perspective I can explore for any systematic alteration in the original 16th Century conceptual field which produced the term smoke. I am free to ask: What is semantically true about the word smoke that may: (1) work to unconsciously support an unsuspected distortion, and (2) simultaneously work to repress potentially crucial, missing key semantic contents necessary to produce consensus?

The etymology and definition of smoke (Webster's, 1980) clearly establishes the word as a symbol for a visual phenomenon, identifiable in the external landscape and by implication an external referent taking place outside the body. The linguistic appropriation of a 16th Century term which historically promotes external referencing as a modern symbol for an internal phenome-

non is at best anachronistic; at worst this outdated usage is the evidence of a misconception which inconspicuously functions to perpetuate a lethal ideology.

Those descriptors which find their roots in the 16th Century pre-scientific conceptual field (and thus promote external referencing) automatically generate semantic distortion. For example: The terms: tobacco, smoke, smoking, puff, cigarette, cigar are misnomers and as such have no factual correspondence to the abusive event that takes place inside the lungs where poisonous particles and gases initiate on contact physical disease.

If communicators employ an external reference to discuss an essentially internal event, then a more immediate problem is that when they think they are talking about the problem, they are, in fact, not talking about the problem at all. The exchange thus becomes semantogenic (Communication Handbook, 1986): "Caused by semantics or labels; used most widely in reference to a problem or disorder whose origin may be found in the labels assigned to it."

The scientific investigation of the health consequences of "smoking" correctly locates the problem inside the body. A spectroanalysis of tobacco smoke reveals some 4,000 constituents (Koop, 1987) including significant amounts of poisonous and cancer causing particles and gases. Koop reports that nicotine is the drug in tobacco that causes an addiction as serious as heroin and cocaine (Nicotine Addiction, 1988, p. i). And, while nicotine addiction has been determined to cause diseases (i.e.,

lung cancer, respiratory and cardiovascular diseases) addictions, themselves, are now being reconceptualized as "disease addictions" (The Addictions 145-59), and diseases of substance abuse. Anne Wilson Schaef and Diane Fassel (Addictive Organization 95) offer this definition: "An addict is a person who is powerless over a substance or a process in his or her life to the point that progressive immersion in the addiction will lead to death."

Koop characterized the scientific investigation of tobacco in his February 17, 1987 address (7): "Over the past 30 years biomedical researchers, physicians, and public health personnel from more than 80 countries have generated more than 50,000 studies on smoking and health. About 2,000 more are added each year. It's an embarrassment of riches."

This enormous scientific effort offers a significantly fertile conceptual field from which to draw terms that more factually represent the internal consequences from sustained exposure to poisonous, addictive, diseasing tobacco smoke. I can warrant an argument here for invoking a process of post-scientific re-identification to determine employment of scientifically correct physical event descriptors (see Appendix C) to accurately state the central issue at controversy. Thus, in an ideal speech situation the discourse would, by re-definition, focus on the question of the health consequence resulting from sustained exposure of the lungs to addictive, poisonous diseasing tobacco smoke. The "substance" in the act of abusing the lungs is in fact attacking the body's internal physical integrity

whether or not communicators employ appropriately conceived terms. Calling the world flat did not physically alter its actual roundness. It did, however, alter how humans conceived it to be in their cognitive processes.

From Burleson and Kline (419) we know that Habermas believes an ideology emerges when systematically distorted communication is manifest at a social level. The ideology in question here, one which promotes inconspicuous external referencing, appears to fit with and extend Thomas Kuhn's concept of a paradigm (113).

The shift from external to internal referencing is paradigmatic (Kuhn 111) in the sense that it requires a revolutionary way of thinking about the problem. This revolutionary approach to the issue is essentially a cognitive restructuring of the issue's initial conception. This cognitive restructuring requires a sustained conscious effort to avoid unconsciously re-engaging the previously undetected ideological communication structures which so effectively repressed key semantic connections.

This paradigm shift is essentially a shift in the perceiver's worldview. The translation to this new worldview includes the conscious admission that the act of "smoking" tobacco comprehensively translates to the harmful act of diseasing the lungs with poisonous, cancer-causing particles and gases. The incorporation of semantically correct terms into broad cultural language use is the present challenge. Employment of scientifically correct real event descriptors is essential to the education of community members who lack the

constellation of mental sets necessary for the conversion experience (Kuhn 204).

## Application of Post-Scientifically Correct Descriptors

To identify the Reynolds' tobacco company as a tobacco company is to ignore the internal relationship of tobacco to the human body as intended by the Reynolds company. Mackay (9) makes this point: "Another distinction is that many of these other consumer goods are dangerous when abused or misused, such as drinking and driving together, or driving too fast, whereas tobacco is simple dangerous when used as intended by the manufacturer."

While the pre-scientific (ideologically driven) identification process inconspicuously mislabels Reynolds' as a tobacco company, the progress of scientifically acquired knowledge requires its re-identification as the Reynolds' Addictive, Poisonous, Diseasing Tobacco Company.

This new internal referencing paradigm allows for the reformulation of the discourse. I can rewrite the two sample texts by effectively updating both texts with correct real event descriptors.[9] Just the title of the Reynolds' ad alone suddenly becomes a consciously arresting statement: "Polluting the air with poisonous addictive particles and gases: a radical proposal." (See Appendix D for rewritten ad in its entirety.) The ad's signature is equally arresting: "Brought to you in the interest

of common courtesy by R. J. Reynolds' Addictive Poisonous Diseasing Tobacco Company."

An examination of Koop's text makes obvious the degree to which the ideological paradigm inconspicuously represses and resists detection. (See Appendix E for rewritten text.) For example, Koop claims there is "nothing vague" about the stronger warnings now required on cigarette packages. Among others he cites: "Pregnant women who smoke risk fetal injury and premature birth" (emphasis added). Yet, when replacing the external term, smoke, with internal event descriptors, the previous undetected vagueness becomes obvious: Pregnant women who habitually abuse their lungs and circulatory system with addicting, poisonous cancer-causing tobacco particles and gases risk fetal injury and premature birth. This warning articulates a worldview which more factually represents the physically harmful event.

At this point full disclosure on the physically harmful consequences becomes a Litmus test. A standard requiring internal event descriptors; i.e., poisonous, addictive, diseasing, acts as a measure for residual denial. Any effort to use external references focuses attention away from the actual poisonous attack on the body and denies information essential for adequate warning.

## Identifying The Most Persuasive Antismoking Appeals

Dr. Stanton A. Glantz (165), in his paper, "A Non-smoker's Rights Campaign Is the Most Effective Way to Fight the Tobacco

Industry Invasion of the Third World" (Elsevier 1988) presented at the Sixth World Conference on Smoking and Health, November 1988, in Tokyo, claims that the non-smoker's rights movement which emerged in the U.S. in the mid 1970s has "without planning to do it... discovered the antidote to cigarette advertising: peer pressure." Glantz says the central theme of this movement is: "If you want to rot your lungs, it's your business, but do it somewhere else."

The rhetorical power of this theme is that it correctly locates the problem inside the body. External referencing clearly gives way here to an internal focus which graphically illustrates the harmful consequences of "smoking" by effectively evoking the visual image of rotting lungs. This tactic evidently forces the mental leap necessary, shifting the smokers' world-view to include responsibility for arbitrarily imposing harm on others. Glantz (165-6) interprets the shift this way:

> In contrast to the traditional antismoking campaigner, the focus of attention was on the smoke (as air pollution) rather than the smoker (as a patient to be cured of the disease, smoking). The goal of reducing smoking <u>per se</u> was not present. Now that the public (at least in the U.S. and some other developed countries) has come to accept the fact that breathing secondhand smoke endangers non-smokers, smoking is rapidly falling out of favor. The non-smokers, who previously felt socially isolated and afraid to tell people not to smoke, have been empowered to speak out and are doing

so as individuals and socially through enactment of rules and laws restricting smoking. As a result, smokers are becoming increasingly self conscious and smoking less.

It is here that Glantz comes closest to breaking out of the 16th Century, pre-scientific social mind-set which inconspicuously governs his choice of descriptors. He allows for the image of rotting lungs, yet fails to use internal referencing terms to identify the harmful agents (poisonous particles, gases and carcinogens) which cause lungs to rot away. He correctly identifies tobacco smoke "as air pollution," yet fails to specify the polluting agents. Nevertheless, his recognition of this semantic shift is profound in as much as it consciously relocates the problem physically inside the lungs. This is the persuasive distinction which apparently moves the "smoker" to accept common ground with the non-smoker.

Kenneth Burke (Foss et al 158), in developing his concept of "consubstantiality", proposes that identification includes the possibility of both conscious and unconscious persuasion. In this sense, a smoker may unconsciously identify with the image of the Marlboro Man and thus be persuaded to try that brand. Again in the same sense, this smoker, who was persuaded to buy Marlboro cigarettes, may also be forced to consciously identify with and respect the genuine health concerns of non-smokers loudly demanding their rights to avoid lung rot.

Glantz (166) offers as further evidence for the persuasive success of this tactic, the results of a U.S. Tobacco Institute national survey (Roper, 1978) which concluded:

> The antismoking forces' latest tack -- on the passive smoking issue -- is another matter. What the smoker does to himself may be his business, but what the smoker does to the non-smoker is quite a different matter. This we see as the most dangerous development to the viability of the tobacco industry that has yet occurred. ... The issue, as we see it, is no longer what the smoker does to himself, but what he does to others. (Emphasis Glantz 2.)

The cognitive dissonance experienced by a smoker who is forced by members of his own community to re-identify tobacco as an abusive, diseasing substance, may be, in fact, experiencing one of the most effective forms of tobacco counteradvertising: advertising by word of mouth. Even more persuasive may be the non-verbal message to nicotine addicts who are being forced by restrictions against public smoking to physically remove themselves from society in order to pursue their act of self-abuse.

Foss, Foss and Trap (198) in explicating Michel Foucault's concept of a discursive formation observes that, "The structure governing knowledge in a culture" is established by particular discursive practices. "These practices are governed by rules that prescribe certain objects of discourse, particular types of speakers, and the form that theories and concepts assume." The authors(195) further observe that "rules determine that one statement rather than another comes to be uttered." They explain that rules "are not likely to be conscious and often cannot be articulated without difficulty, but these rules determine the

possibilities for the content and form of discourse." Here they quote Foucault directly: "The production of discourse is at once controlled, selected, organized and redistributed according to a certain number of procedures."

Marsha F. Goldsmith in her article, "Tobacco-Addiction-Death Link Shown But Labels Don't Tell It" (JAMA 997), documents how the tobacco industry influenced the U.S. Congress to exclude the words addictive and death from the warning labels advocated by Surgeon General Koop for cigarette packaging.

To allow the addictive, poisonous, diseasing tobacco interests to dictate the form of discourse by restricting its semantic parameters to pre-scientific, 16th Century conceptual fields is to ridicule the progress of knowledge, itself. Perhaps even more ridiculous is the inconspicuous assumption that final responsibility for adequate public warning should fall to the very diseasing tobacco industry against whom the warnings are aimed. The Surgeon General's Report, The Health Consequences of Involuntary Smoking (Koop, 1986), documents the dangers of exposure to environmental tobacco smoke for non-smokers. This report effectively establishes the need for public warnings on the dangers of ambient, poisonous, cancer-causing tobacco smoke. This need for publicly posted warnings shifts the realm of responsible discourse beyond the venue of the tobacco lobby and "a Congress lacking in character" (Goldsmith 997). Individual municipalities and their duly mandated community health officials are legally responsible for adequately warning their public on the diseasing characteristic of ambient poisonous tobacco smoke.

A universal standard of full disclosure on the dangers of ambient tobacco smoke would require publicly posted "no smoking" signs be rewritten to include post-scientific internal event descriptors: TOBACCO SMOKE IS POISONOUS AND ADDICTIVE AND DISEASES THE LUNGS. PLEASE DON'T SMOKE. Signs where "smoking" in public is permitted would read: SMOKING PERMITTED. WARNING: TOBACCO SMOKE IS POISONOUS, ADDICTIVE, DISEASES LUNGS AND IS KNOWN TO CAUSE PREMATURE DEATH.

The public re-identification of the diseasing event has the effect of bringing the post-scientific conceptual field into the communication process at the base level of population and forces the necessary re-identification process to focus on the location where the physically poisoning event takes place.

In her book, When Society Becomes An Addict, Schaef discusses the notion of "whole system recovery." Schaef (144) claims the key to beginning the process of recovery for the whole system is to first admit the existence on a cultural scale of the addictive process. "Naming our reality is essential to recovery. Unless we admit that we are indeed functioning in an addictive process in an addictive system, we shall never have the option of recovery." Then Schaef continues, "Remember, to name the system as addict is not to condemn it: it is to offer it the possibility of recovery." Schaef (66) identifies denial as the major defense mechanism in the addictive process. The addictive process includes us all, not just the addict who pursues self-destruction through a disease of substance abuse, but also those of us who

"refuse to see what we see and know what we know." If we participate in a dishonest system we help to perpetuate it.

A universal standard of full disclosure by moral and ethical imperative must extend across the culture. The implications for the mass media, formal education and the health professions are initially most challenging. Eventually, retailers and the advertising industry will be forced to reflect on their participation in the addictive process. The process of post-scientific re-identification allows the "force of the better argument" to emerge. The moral and ethical common ground is co-emergent and invites participants in the addictive process to rethink their stand. One must reflect on the choice between consciously "pushing" an addictive, poisonous, death-causing substance or "pushing" for full disclosure on the diseasing nature of nicotine addiction and its devastating and epidemic destruction of life.

Koop (3), in his September 19, 1989 appearance before a Congressional Committee on U.S. Trade, concluded his testimony against government sponsored export of tobacco with the following: "At a time when we are pleading with foreign governments to stop the export of cocaine, it is the height of hypocracy for the United States to export tobacco. Consider the figures: Cocaine killed about 2,000 people in the United States in 1988. Cigarettes kill 390,000 in the United States each year.

The broader, international challenge may be to export the process of post-scientific re-identification of tobacco use as a poisonous, addictive, substance-abuse disease. A concerted

effort to apply a standard of full disclosure in re-naming the disease would appear a logical priority for international health agencies. On a national level, non-addict's rights groups (non-smoker's rights) might need only seek a writ of mandamus to effectively encourage resistant local health officers to publicly post warning notices employing these primary physical internal event descriptors: poisonous, addictive, disease.

While the pervasive public display of these scientifically correct internal event descriptors insures the ethical practice of full disclosure on the harmful consequences of tobacco-use-disease, the widespread employment of these internal event references may also serve to trigger the necessary social discourse required to undermine the misrepresenting glamorous appeals used by the tobacco industry to encourage experimentation with its lethally addicting products.

# Smoking in public: A radical proposal.

These days the level of social discourse between smokers and non-smokers is approaching that of a tag-team wrestling match.

While some people try to solve this problem through segregation or confrontation, we at R.J. Reynolds have been proposing a more daring solution: greater courtesy.

For these outlandish views we might be called dreamers and cockeyed optimists. But we continue to believe in the power of politeness to change the world.

We can almost imagine how it might begin.

A smoker is about to light a cigarette in public. He pauses in midmatch, suddenly conscious of the non-smoker next to him. Bracing himself for a hostile response, he asks, "Excuse me, do you mind if I smoke?"

The non-smoker is momentarily stunned by this unexpected act of courtesy. She stifles several witty replies that leap to mind; she cannot let his politeness go unchallenged. "I don't mind," she answers, "as long as you don't let your smoke blow in my face."

Her flagrant tolerance puts the smoker on the defensive. But he tries to regain the upper hand. "I'll do my best," he responds. "Let me know if the smoke bothers you."

A deft comeback. But the non-smoker presses her attack: "I will —and thanks for asking." Not to be outdone, the smoker brazenly replies, "Thanks for being so understanding."

An unlikely dialogue? Perhaps. But, who knows? If this sort of thing ever caught on, it might lead to a sudden outbreak of civil decency. Or even escalate into full-scale friendliness.

Common courtesy. It's just crazy enough, it might work.

*Brought to you in the interest of common courtesy by*

R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Company

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APPENDIX B

The excerpt from Surgeon General Koop's speech reads as follows:

"When I assumed this position in 1981, the scientific case against cigarettes was air-tight.

Nevertheless, since 1981 we've produced 4 more reports on the relationship between smoking and cancer...smoking and cardiovascular disease...smoking and lung disease...and the most recent one, on smoking, cancer, and chronic lung disease among working people.

Each report has been unequivocal: smoking is a major contributor to the incidence of these diseases and is also a major reason why people die from these diseases.

And I want to emphasize that this process of research and public education has continued through 5 presidents -- two democrats and three republicans -- and through 10 sessions of the United States Congress. It has continued through lavish budgets and through tight budgets and it's still going...Framm-Rudman-Hollings notwithstanding.

Throughout this period, that little boxed warning label stayed pretty much the same. Then the Congress passed the "comprehensive smoking education act of 1984", Public Law 98-474, and now the manufacturers of cigarettes are required to put new and stronger warnings on their packages and in all their advertising.

There are 4 versions and they must be rotated every 3 months. I hope you've all noticed them.

There's nothing fancy about these warnings. But there's certainly nothing vague about them either:

* One categorically says that "...smoking causes lung cancer, heart disease, emphysema, and may complicate pregnancy."

* Another is more specific and warns that "...pregnant women who smoke risk fetal injury and premature birth."

* A third makes it clear to everyone that "...cigarette smoke contains carbon monoxide."

* The fourth warning says that "...quitting smoking now greatly reduces serious health risks". In other words, it's never too late to quit.

But quitting is not easy to do -- I know that -- because smokers are addicted to nicotine, which is the most addictive drug in our society. That's not political rhetoric, that's scientific fact.

They aren't what you'd call "wishy-washy" messages. They're the blunt truth and they are now part of Federal law...Chapter 15, Section 1331 of the The United States Code, to be exact.

When I review that record of progress on this issue over the past 20 years, I have to conclude that the Congress has "come a long way, baby."

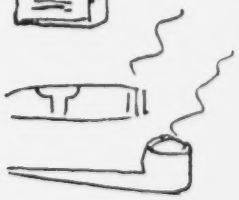
So this would be a good time to offer a bit of advice to the tobacco industry: "Friends, please retire those full-page newspaper ads that talk about, quote, 'the controversy', un-quote, that you say still exists. There is no controversy. I can assure you that smoking really kills. I believe it...the American people are increasingly coming to believe it...and the Congress of the United States believes it too." (Koop, April 30, 1986.)

1500 PHYSICIAL EVENT CONTINUUM 1990

←——EXTERNAL EVENT CHARACTERISTICS ←—— | ——→ INTERNAL EVENT CHARACTERISTICS ——→

OLD PARADIGM/MINDSET ——→ SHIFT ——→ NEW PARADIGM/MINDSET

APPENDIX C



Historically Established Terms:

| | |
|---|---|
| Tobacco | Cigarette |
| Smoke | Cigar |
| Smoking | Pipe, etc. |
| Puff | |

Conceptual Field:

1. 16th Century
2. Pre-Scientific
3. Appropriate only for limited referencing external event realities.

Implications of Continued Usage:

1. Keeps inquiry constantly externally referenced away from locus of problem.
2. Perpetuates myth of valid controversy.

Scientifically Established Realties; Appropriate Event Descriptors:

1. Poisonous: Poisonous particles and gases in tobacco smoke attack lungs, heart, brain and other vital organs
2. Addictive: The processes that determine tobacco addiction are similar to those that determine addiction to drugs such as heroin and cocaine.
3. Disease: Chronic inhalation of poisonous addictive tobacco smoke is now recognized as a disease of substance abuse accounting for some one million annual deaths globally.

Event Descriptors:

- Remain excluded from discourse by 16th century paradigm/mind-set.
- When correctly adopted and employed will eliminate myth of controversy.

## APPENDIX D

### Polluting the Air With Addictive Poisonous Cancer Causing Particles and Gases

These days the level of social discourse between people addicted to poisonous cancer causing tobacco smoke and non-addicts is approaching that of a tag-team wrestling match.

While some people try to solve this problem through segregation or confrontation, we at R. J. Reynolds' Addictive, Poisonous, Diseasing Tobacco Company, have been proposing a more daring solution: greater courtesy.

For these outlandish views we might be called dreamers and cockeyed optimists. But we continue to believe in the power of politeness to change the world.

We can almost imagine how it might begin. A tobacco poison addict is about to light a poisonous, cancer causing tobacco stick in public. He pauses in mid-match, suddenly conscious of the non-addict next to him. Bracing himself for a hostile response, he asks, "Excuse me, do you mind if I poison our air?"

The non-addict is momentarily stunned by this unexpected act of courtesy. She stifles several witty replies that leap to mind; she cannot let his politeness go unchallenged. "I don't mind", she answers, "as long as you don't let your poisonous, diseasing particles and gases blow in my face."

Her flagrant tolerance puts the tobacco poison addict on the defensive. But he tries to regain the upper hand. "I'll do my

best", he responds. "Let me know if the poisonous lung-rotting smoke bothers you."

A deft comeback. But the non-addict presses her attack: "I will--and thanks for asking." Not to be outdone, the addicted poison sucker brazenly replies, "Thanks for being so understanding."

An unlikely dialogue? Perhaps. But, who knows? If this sort of thing ever caught on, it might lead to a sudden outbreak of civil decency. Or even escalate into full-scale friendliness.

Common courtesy. It's just crazy enough, it might work.

Brought to you in the interest of common courtesy by

R. J. Reynolds' Addictive, Poisonous,

Diseasing Tobacco Company

## APPENDIX E

### Koop Text Rewritten With Post-Scientific Descriptors

"When I assumed this position in 1981, the scientific case against addictive, poisonous, diseasing tobacco sticks was air-tight.

Nevertheless, since 1981 we've produced four more reports on the relationship between abusing the lungs with addictive, poisonous tobacco smoke and cancer...addictive, poisonous tobacco and cardiovascular disease...addictive, poisonous tobacco and lung disease...and the most recent one, on abusing the lungs with tobacco poison, cancer, and chronic lung disease among working people.

Each report has been unequivocal: Abusing lungs with tobacco poison is a major contributor to the incidence of these diseases and is also a major reason why people die from these diseases.

And I want to emphasize that this process of research and public education has continued through five presidents -- two democrats and three republicans -- and through tea sessions of the United States Congress. It has continued through lavish budgets and through tight budgets and it's still going...Framm-Rudman-Hollings notwithstanding.

Throughout this period, the little boxed warning label stayed pretty much the same. Then the Congress passed the "comprehensive addictive, poisonous, diseasing tobacco education act of 1984", Public Law 98-474, and now the manufacturers of addictive, poisonous tobacco sticks are required to put new and stronger warnings on their packages and in all their advertising.

There are four versions and they must be rotated every three months. I hope you've all noticed them.

There's nothing fancy about these warnings. But there's certainly nothing vague about them either:

* One categorically says that "...sucking addictive, poisonous tobacco smoke into the lungs causes lung cancer, heart disease, emphysema, and may complicate pregnancy."

* Another is more specific and warns that "...pregnant women who regularly abuse their lungs and circulating system with diseasing tobacco poison risk fetal injury and premature birth."

* A third makes it clear to everyone that "...addictive, diseasing tobacco smoke contains carbon monoxide which poisons the lungs."

* The fourth warning says that "...recovery from addiction to diseasing tobacco poison now greatly reduces serious health risks." In other words, it's never too late to quit.

But quitting is not easy to do -- I know that -- because people who continuously abuse their lungs with tobacco poison are addicted to nicotine, which is the most addictive drug in our society. That's not political rhetoric, that's scientific fact.

They aren't what you'd call "wishy-washy" messages. They're the blunt truth and they are now part of Federal law...Chapter 15, Section 1331 of The United States Code, to be exact.

When I review that record of progress on this issue over the past twenty years, I have to conclude that the Congress has "come a long way, baby."

So this would be a good time to offer a bit of advice to the addictive, diseasing tobacco poison industry: "Friends, please retire those full-page newspaper ads that talk about, quote, 'the controversy', un-quote, that you say still exists. There is no controversy. I can assure you that diseasing the lungs hourly, throughout the day with addictive, poisonous tobacco smoke really kills. I believe it...the American people are increasingly coming to believe it...and the Congress of the United States believes it too."

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